1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

183 between us." If there are two groups of people "making *'ahd*" together, as many of each group as there is room for face each other across the grave. When these have made *'ahd* others fill their places, until all have taken part. An *'ahd* cannot be broken without retribution falling afterwards in some unforeseen way. The following list covers some of the situations which call for the making of *'ahd*.

1. Two men wish to make a covenant not to harm one another.
2. A man fears that a friend will deceive him with his wife, and asks the friend to make *'ahd* with him. This is done at times by men about to start on journeys.
3. One man hires another to commit murder; the two may confirm the agreement by making *'ahd*.
4. A man makes *'ahd* with his wife so that they will have confidence in each other.
5. Adulteresses make *'ahd* together to insure mutual secrecy.
6. *Bones* which have been allied in *liff* and which begin to mistrust each other make *'ahd* as groups. This involves breaking bread at the tomb and exchanging the pieces.
7. *Fifths* allied in *liff* make *'ahd* to continue that condition, under the agreement that the first *bone* to break it will be punished by the destruction of its property and by exile. This punishment, of course, implies the consent of the tribal council. In making this type of *'ahd* the councillors of the two *fifths* meet in a saint's tomb, and not only break and exchange bread but also sacrifice a bull.

Besides the serious *'ahd*-making of grown-ups, children build toy graves of pebbles or small stones and play at making *'ahd* over them.

THE EVIL EYE

●154 The evil eye is thought to exert its baleful influence mainly against vegetable gardens and women and children. An old soot-blackened pot, a mule's skull, or a black cloth is put up on a pole in the garden, and acts as a prophylactic. In red-pepper patches goat droppings are tied up when the peppers are in flower.

Pairs of goat horns are tied on pomegranate trees to keep the flowers from falling when a person with the evil eye looks at them.

To keep the evil eye from harming a child, a boar's tooth may be hung about its neck on a string. Women protect themselves by tying cowrie-shells into their belts.

INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS

781 In the Rif it is thought that dreams dreamed in the summer will come true, while those dreamed in winter will not, since the world is turned around at that time. Dreams of an ominous nature are mostly symbolical. The following are a few examples:

1. If you dream that you see a man naked, poverty will befall him. If you dream that you yourself are naked, no harm will result.
2. If you dream that you see a wedding company disporting themselves in the house of one of your relatives, then one of your relatives, not necessarily the same one, will soon die.
3. If you dream that you or someone else falls into a stream or a stream-bed, the government will shortly make trouble for you.

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 8+2] the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
● [754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

821 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah
789 itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry thing", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum;
789 Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran
778 or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
[755] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

776 778 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall [681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 515 789 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is wholesome to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 778 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with [754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

704 272 A person who in the evening is going to carry milk from his own house or tent to that of somebody else, puts a little salt in it to protect it from jnun (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he drops into it a green grass-blade as a charm which will avert evil from the cows (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk is given to a neighbor he must not return the vessel empty but he must put something into it, for example, flour, or salt, or grass, or water; otherwise the house or tent of its owner will also become empty (Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Temsaman). But if a person takes milk out of his house or tent to give it to some one to drink, he must not take back there anything of it which is left, but should drink it himself or give it to some poor person or a dog, or pour it out in a place where nobody walks; should he take it back with him his cows, or his family as well, would have to suffer for it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, At Ubahti). If a person who is carrying milk meets another on the road, he must offer him a drink of it, and, as said above, the latter is obliged to accept the offer or, at least, to dip a finger, generally the little finger of the right hand, which is the cleanest, into the milk, putting it then into his mouth or touching his forehead with it. The offering of milk serves as a safeguard against [754] the evil eye, and will besides benefit the offerer in a more positive manner owing to the blessing pronounced on him by the recipient, which will make his animals thrive. But I have also heard that you should offer milk even to a person who does not know that you are [244] carrying such a thing; for if you conceal milk from him God will always conceal it from you (Andjra). The custom in question seems to prevail all over Morocco; but sometimes I was told that it is only observed in the morning (Ait Nder), or not between enemies (Ait Waryager). While gratuitous offering of milk is thus in certain cir- [432] cumstances prescribed by custom, the sale of milk is forbidden (Temsaman): he who sells milk will not have much of it (Andjra), something bad will happen to his cows (Ulad Bu aziz), or he will leave his children destitute (Ait Warain). This rule is often broken, especially in towns where there are European residents; but during my stay in Marraksh I often found people unwilling to sell milk. A gratuity, however, is readily accepted for the milk offered to a stranger of note who passes through the village. When it is offered to the Sultan on horseback he dips the little finger of his right hand into it, wipes off the milk on the neck of his horse, and tells his amin,

776 [409] Among the Ait Waryager, if a party of hunters are in vain
789 hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks
224 made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, Allah in'al ssitan rharami, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away.

754 [414] Besides the jnun the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—L-'ain 'anda t ult ayin fe l-mqabar; or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—N-nuss fe bnadem kaimut be l-'ain; or or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—L-'ain t uhli l-qosor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Fez), or L-'ain t hli d-duyor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

[421] I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulad Bu 'aziz) and vice versa (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Ait Waryager). It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him. This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.

[423] A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulad Bu'aziz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Igliwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place; and among the Ait Waryager he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man. Attempts are also made to escape the [424] danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

716 754 301 789 [440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows
● older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

2: Westermarck--49 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[570] CHAPTER XI

WITCHCRAFT—HOMŒOPATHIC INFLUENCES—THE TRANSFERENCE OF EVIL

754 Besides the evil eye and the curse there are other mysterious malign influences which are due to envy or ill-will, namely practices called shor (or shor), that is, witchcraft. The plural shor is much more frequently heard than the singular sahr or sehr, the latter of which is, to my knowledge, only used by scribes. A person who practises shor is called sahhar or sahhar (plur sahharin or sahhara), if a man, and sahhara or sahhara, if a woman. The Berbers have berberised forms of these words, such as sshor (Ait Waryager), sshor (Ait Sadden), or ssehar (Ait Warain); ssahhar (plur. ssahhara; Ait Waryager), ashhar (plur. ishharn; Ait Sadden), or ashhar (plur. ishharn; Igliwa); ssahhara (plur. ssahharat; Ait Waryager), tashhart (plur. tishharin; Ait Sadden), or tashhart (plur. tishharin; Igliwa).

[572] Among the Ait Waryager, if a bridegroom on the day of "the great henna", rhanni amaqran, is not sufficiently liberal to the scribes, it may happen that one of the latter takes revenge in the following manner. He writes something on the blade of a clasp-knife, goes into the room in which the bridegroom is sitting, with the knife hidden underneath his clothes, and shuts it up at the moment when he salutes him. He subsequently ties up the knife so that it shall remain well shut, buries it in a desolate place, and makes a cairn over it; and the husband will now be incapable of having intercourse with his wife. He will, however, be easily cured by inducing the mischiefmaker, whom he will soon find out, to undo the enchantment; but, of course, he has to pay for it. The guilty scribe digs up and unties the knife, writes something from the Koran on a paper, and gives the paper to the bewitched husband, who pours water over it and then drinks the water.

[578] Shor may also be practised without reference to any particular individual. If a band of scribes are in need of money, one of them feigns to be dead and the others cover him up with a blanket, sit down round him, and read over him as if he were dead. The effect of this sham funeral is that there will soon be a death which will bring them

754 profit; a funeral is welcome to the scribes, it is called their wedding (Ait Waryager). For the same purpose they knock the bier which is kept in the mosque, telling it to get up to work: —Qum t hdem 'ala rasak; and they believe that somebody will die within three days (Andjra). Among the Ait Waryager they beat the bier three times at night, saying Kar athadmed ya rmahmer, "Get up to work, O bier". And when they want a feast they take the empty palmetto or esparto mat (dasfirt) on which they keep their food when [579] they have a meal and give it a good beating, so that it shall help them to what they want (Ait Waryager). It is also shor when a person for wicked and selfish purposes tries to stop or prevent rain, when needed by the community, by ploughing with two cats "yoked" to a toy-plough.

787 [580] If a person accidentally bites his tongue while eating, he will eat meat (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If a man spills food (Andjra), or gets a piece of a straw or some other trifle (Ait Waryager), into his beard, he will have a guest.

832 [581] At Fez I heard of the following methods by which a man may strengthen his sexual power. He puts some chick-peas (hammos) into water and, when they have got soft and swollen, drinks the water; this, I was told, makes him so strong that he in one night might even deflower seventy-two virgin cows. Or he eats on three successive mornings before breakfast shelled almonds pounded with cinnamon and m mixed with honey, which is said to produce a lasting effect. Elsewhere also chick-peas (Tangier, where they are called hommes) and almonds (ibid., Ait Waryager) are used for the same purpose; and so are earth-nuts (biyanat or kaukau; Tangier Fez) and beans (Ait Waryager). The efficacy attributed to them is of course due to their suggestive shape.

585 832 At weddings there are many homœopathic rites intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, which is not surprising considering the frequency of enchantments wrought for the contrary purpose. Among the Ait Waryager, before the arrival of the bride, it is the custom for the bridegroom's mother to place in the yard a mug (daqdeht) upside down with a so-called didli (an ornament consisting of dollar and half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horsehair and worn by women round the forehead) and an egg on the top of it, and for the bridegroom to break both the mug and the egg with a kick, as I was told, "to destroy the evil", which undoubtedly meant any

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth [272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a 754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events 857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect"— alam n-nbi waqaf, —that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

796 [182] The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic l-'ansara (l-ansra); and in Berber l'ansart (Shloh, Ait Warain), l'ansart (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), or t'ainsa (Temsaman).

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.

[185] On the evening of Midsummer day the Ait Waryager make in their yards fires with poplar (asafsaf) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap.

[187] Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are [188] frequently practised at Midsummer.

[515] [189] Among the Ait Waryager the people take their bath before sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean.

796 245 [190] "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one; dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Fahs, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees. This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, Blastophaga grossorum, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs. I was told by a scribe from the Rif that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (ariy; Ait Waryager), or pennyroyal (flaiyu; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rif Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang ●[754] oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (amgil) taken from the same place.

751 796 [192] The Ait Waryager on Midsummer day press the juice of a grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (dazubait).

825 [262] The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue.

[842] [320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager) or for lberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.

● [754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 594 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

585 524 591 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grama. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Benisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[154] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male guests they sing in Arabic,

[533] [539]

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi, where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, especially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrimage is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa. (A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

754 791 789 793 443 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Tolbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi- [554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to 000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the djnoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The djnoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a djnoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the djnoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 djnoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the djnoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

• 754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[776] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these